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Creating an enduring developmental legacy from FIFA 2010: The Football Foundation of South Africa (FFSA)

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AAABSTRACT

Abstract

Research question: The legacies of sport mega-events are widely contested. Whilst the short term impacts of the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa have been largely considered to be positive, there is little evidence of longer term outcomes. This paper contributes to the sport mega-event legacy literature by presenting empirical evidence of the longer term developmental legacy using a case study of a community focused sports project. Key factors underpinning sustainable legacy outcomes are identified.

Research methods: The Football Foundation of South Africa (FFSA) was selected as a case study due to the novel ways in which the project developed. Thirty-eight interviews were conducted with stakeholders involved directly in the FFSA's day-to-day delivery and management, people from organisations who deliver sport and recreation services at the local and regional levels and children who use the facility. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, and the data was analysed using the qualitative content analysis approach.

Results and findings: The FFSA is achieving substantial and increasing reach into local, especially disadvantaged, communities. Children expressed very strong positive feelings about the contribution it makes to their lives. Several factors have enabled the FFSA to be successful, with the most critical being the strong institutional context within which the project is embedded involving local, regional, national and global organisations.

Implications: The success of the FFSA highlights gaps in mega-event legacy planning. International sport bodies should develop formal mechanisms for drawing their corporate stakeholders together with community-based groups to identify and deliver sustainable developmental programmes.

Keywords: FIFA 2010, mega-event legacy, sport for development, South Africa, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

Introduction

In the lead up to the football World Cup in South Africa (FIFA2010) there was widespread concern that the event would be plagued by problems (Nothias, 2014). The ultimate delivery exceeded all expectations with the event's execution being widely lauded for its efficiency and sense of celebration (HSRC, 2011). For South Africa this was a significant step in the re-configuration of the nation's international status in the post-apartheid era (Cornelissen, Bob & Swart, 2011). Mega-events such as FIFA2010, theoretically at least, bring immense opportunities to catalyse long term legacies as huge financial investments are made to develop infrastructure, place marketing efforts go into overdrive and global consumer brands focus on developing feel-good initiatives through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes. So, whilst the short term impacts of FIFA2010 have been largely considered to be positive, what of the longer term impacts with regard to legacy? Such outcomes have been widely contested, especially in terms of the extent of developmental reach into South Africa's poorer communities (Sims, 2013; Steyn, 2015).

In this paper we draw upon empirical research to interrogate the extent to which legacy was embedded within the planning process for FIFA2010. Our findings indicate that legacy was a low priority for the strategy teams delivering FIFA2010 and thus community-based legacy outcomes have tended to occur generally via limited trickle-down effects or, invariably superficial, corporate driven CSR activities. We then present a case study of a community focused sports project, based in the coastal town of Gansbaai in the Western Cape, which gained traction following the announcement of FIFA2010. This project, managed by a third sector organisation the Football Foundation of South Africa (FFSA), has achieved considerable reach into local communities and continues to develop in terms of its scale and scope. The institutional arrangements under which this project evolved contrast with formal legacy projects in the sense that the initial drive was from bottom-up rather than from the top downwards. A notable feature

of the project is the way in which significant international resources have been drawn into the project and worked in tandem with regional and local stakeholders to deliver the project. We contend that the project demonstrates the benefits that can be accrued in terms of developmental legacy if the resources of corporations can be directly linked to local stakeholders. Furthermore, mega-events offer one-off opportunities to tap into corporate CSR budgets and wider corporate resources and a more strategic approach should be taken at the planning stage of mega events, ie. to leverage the event in order to capitalise on these opportunities to acquire significant inputs of financial and human capital.

Literature review

Apartheid's legacy for community sport

Sport in South Africa received considerable international attention and interest during the apartheid-era due to the high profile sports boycott and boycott-busting rebel tours (Desai, 2017). A torch was shone on the lack of access of the majority of the population to sporting opportunities, whether as players or spectators. Moonda (quoting Desai, 2017 pp. 23-24) reveals the extent to which access to sports facilities was racialised under apartheid: 'whites had 73% of athletics tracks, 92% of golf courses, 83% of hockey fields, 84% of cricket pitches, 95% of squash courts, 80% of badminton courts, 83% of swimming baths and 82% of rugby fields' (Moonda 2017 p.1).

These sporting disparities in turn highlighted the stark socio-economic imbalances that existed in South Africa and the divisive policy framework which underpinned them. Indeed, the lens of sporting inequality was to play a key role in mobilising international activism against the regime, which in turn contributed to the pressures leading to the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and the inception of a more inclusive democratic system.

The African National Congress (ANC) government which swept to power in 1994 faced a dizzying array of challenges. Apartheid had left many malign legacies, not least the reality that in socio-economic terms South Africa was the most unequal society in the world, with an all too clear delineation of disparities along racial lines (Marais, 2011). Such disparities also exhibited a spatial aspect due to the ways in which people of different colours were grouped into specific locations, often with limited access to infrastructure. Improving living conditions, providing employment, delivering education and healthcare whilst re-dressing racially defined imbalances were all considerable challenges for the new cadre of policy makers. Whilst sport and recreation were seen as important policy targets, providing accessible sporting facilities and infrastructure was a lower priority than other more pressing social concerns (Republic of South Africa, 2012a; 2012b). Elite sport was coming under increasing pressure to visibly demonstrate racial transformation but the sporting base within the majority of communities remained under-developed. Indeed, it was recorded in the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) Transformation Charter that ‘...the absence of supporting infrastructure in schools and previously disadvantaged communities, a lack of facilities and administrative capacity to structure and organise coaching and league competitions ... it is reasonable to conclude that school sport could be under threat’ (SASCOC, 2011, p. 32)

The South African government had many motivations for bidding to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup™, including promoting the nascent Rainbow Nation’s international profile and attracting investment (Ndlovu, 2010). Decision makers were also attracted to the notion that such a large scale event, spread across the nation would create opportunities to address some of the nation’s pressing developmental needs (Altinger, 2006). As the FIFA 2010 Legacy Audit report was to record:

On the whole, the various projects and initiatives undertaken throughout the country as part of hosting the World Cup were informed by the belief that the exercise would

provide valuable legacies for development and would be in line with the country's developmental objective (HSRC, 2011, p. 6)

At the same time the South African government were actively supporting the notion that sporting activities, in and of themselves, had a role to play to transforming society, as outlined by the Minister of Sport in 2012 'in South Africa the pace at which sport and recreation is claiming its rightful place as an effective tool for positive social and economic change has increased exponentially' (Republic of South Africa, 2012a, p. 1).

This approach is consistent with narratives being driven from global agencies promoting the role of sport within broader development processes (Burnett, 2009; Darnell & Black, 2011; Levermore, 2010). Indeed, until May 2017 the United Nations maintained an Office on 'Sport for Development and Peace' (UNOSDP), which promoted the role of sport and recreation in achieving each of the UN's 17 Sustainable Development Goals¹. The UNOSDP's (n.d.) document 'Sport and the Sustainable Development Goals' outlines the many contributions that sport can make in such diverse realms as improving nutrition, raising individual self-esteem, promoting reconciliation in post-conflict environments and promoting the importance of clean air. However, the forms of development promoted via the staging of FIFA2010 focused largely upon infrastructural upgrades and demonstrating international standards of organisation. Community focused development was largely side lined as a legacy objective. Prior to discussing these contested legacies of FIFA2010 it is necessary to embed this discussion within the broader theoretical context of legacy presented next.

Sport mega-events and legacy

¹ The work of the UNOSDP has now been passed on to the International Olympic Committee

Legacy is a controversial issue with respect to the longer term outcomes from large sporting events (Grix, Brannagan, Wood & Wynne, 2017; Preuss, 2007). The case for hosting mega-events, such as soccer World Cups or the Olympics, typically emphasises legacy impacts within economic, socio-cultural and political spheres (Brittain, Bocarro, Byers & Swart, 2018). However, in reality the economic cost is rarely, if ever, re-couped and wider benefits tend to be highly subjective at best. Indeed, negative legacies, such as white elephant stadia, revelations of corruption in bidding and tendering processes and even declines in community sport participation are widely reported (Grix et al., 2017). Thus, the number of potential hosts bidding to hold major international events is dropping markedly, and there has also been greater focus on the legacy and sustainability of these events (Preuss, 2018). Holt and Ruta (2015) underscore that similar to the International Olympic Committee including legacy in its charter, so too has FIFA become increasingly concerned with the use of the World Cup as a vehicle for socio-economic development. One of the earliest definitions of legacy states ‘Irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all the planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself’ (Preuss 2007, p. 211).

However, initially the focus of legacy tended to be on the tangible, hard infrastructure associated with mega events. In a more recent definition of legacy, Preuss (2015) emphasises the structural changes that emerge as a result of hosting of mega-events. This definition moves legacy away from its initial conception from something that is left after the mega event and acknowledges that legacy can occur even before the start of the mega event. Preuss (2018, p.xvii) states that ‘the legacy exists as long as the “structural changes” exist which permanently offers opportunities for action’. Similar to previous definitions of legacy (Preuss, 2007; Chappelet & Junod, 2006, Cornelissen et al., 2011), Preuss (2018) highlights that structural changes occur in

the following areas as illustrated using FFSA as an example: urban development (new sport facility), environment enhancement (influencing quality of life of the Gansbaai residents), policies and governance (influencing policies for sports legacy and grassroots development of sport), human development (more children learning new sport skills, enhancing knowledge and networks amongst stakeholders in Gansbaai), intellectual property and social development (more children playing sport).

Preuss (2018) further cautions that this makes it challenging to measure legacy as these changes often take a long time to transpire. A systematic review of how legacies have been conceptualised conducted by Bocarro, Byers and Carter (2018) revealed that most legacy articles were conceptual and not empirical and the time period used to capture legacy generally did not extend beyond five years. Moreover, empirical verification focused primarily on economic legacy. Thus, despite the multi-dimensional conceptualisation of legacy few studies have empirically provided support to the nature of legacy and its production (Bocarro et al., 2018). They add that researchers have moved away from focusing on the different types of legacy and have instead focused on ‘leveraging’ to showcase the process of legacy production (Chappelet, 2012). As such, mega-events can be used to leverage broader benefits (Getz & Page, 2016) as illustrated by the FFSA case. The importance of planning and stakeholder engagement to leverage legacy is further underscored (Ferrari & Guala, 2017). Bocarro et al. (2018, p. 20) therefore suggest that ‘legacy from a multitude of stakeholder assessments needs to be examined and compared over longer timeframes.’

The contested legacies of FIFA2010

The longer term impacts of FIFA2010 on South Africa have been hotly contested (Cornellissen et al., 2011; Heere, Walker, Gibson, Thapa, Geldenhuys, & Coetzee, 2013; Steyn, 2015). On the plus side, significant strides were made in accelerating progress towards certain

developmental objectives. Perhaps most critically the requirement to host an international tournament of the scale of a World Cup necessitated a wholesale upgrading of the infrastructure in and around the main urban areas. Major investments were made into airports and roads, as well as improvements in tourism infrastructure and urban spaces, such as the Fan walkway from Cape Town city centre to the stadium in Green Point. The excellent delivery of the event has also been touted as a resounding rebuttal of the prevailing Afro-pessimism discourse, which had found expression prior to the tournament in claims that the event would be poorly organised and that the visitor experience would be diminished by exposure to widespread criminality (Chari & Mhiripiri, 2014). Instead, the event was organised superbly to global acclaim, criminal acts were a rarity and the improved infrastructure has benefitted tourism and the broader economy. Moreover, many commentators have suggested that national pride and unity improved significantly as a result of the event's successful delivery (HSRC, 2011). In addition, FIFA set up the World Cup Legacy Trust with \$100 million to deliver social development projects across the continent, such as the Football for Hope programme) which aimed to establish twenty football centres in Africa including six in South Africa (2010legacytrust, n.d.).

On the flip side critics point to the ongoing costs of managing purpose built stadiums that lack ongoing usage (the iconic stadium in Green Point, Cape Town being a glaring example), the distraction of governmental efforts and investment into the event rather than other pressing social issues and alleged corruption involved in the bidding process. Furthermore, there appear to have been few profound benefits at community level (Cornellisen, 2011; Qwayi 2016; Steyn, 2015). At the time of writing only \$15 million had been spent from the World Cup Legacy Trust. The slow rollout of investment from this fund, allied to a seeming lack of accountability, has attracted criticism (de Paula & Bartelt, 2014; Sims, 2013). Other community based projects and schemes were initiated at the time of the event usually with corporate backing via CSR and sponsorship budgets, for example the Dreamfields Project backed by Old Mutual and BHP

Billiton (HSRC, 2011). However, many of these tended to be short term and superficial leaving little lingering impact. The level of disaffection within communities is expressed by one community leader as follows:

The world's most famous tournament came and went and it never changed our lives. We had hopes of getting jobs, running businesses etc, but none of those dreams came true. The World Cup left us in the same poverty stricken conditions; only a few soccer projects, like "Football for Hope Movement" in Harare Khayelitsha and in Alexandra in Johannesburg. Coca-Cola, Kia, Hyundai and Sony sponsored these projects, but the projects' infrastructures are deteriorating. I doubt the 2010 sponsors are still on board. World Cup is biased on the elite side. We are left nothing in South Africa, except for big white elephants that we will struggle to maintain (Tinashe Njanji quoted in de Paula and Bartelt, 2014, p. 94).

Seemingly, community development plans were very much an afterthought within the planning for FIFA2010.

Method

The research underpinning this paper has been undertaken as part of the EU-funded CARNiVAL² project investigating the legacy impacts of mega-events. The FFSA was selected as a case study (Yin, 1994; Flyvbjerg, 2006) due to the novel ways in which the Gansbaai project developed during the lead up to FIFA2010. The FFSA did not emerge directly from the formal planning process driving FIFA2010 in the Western Cape. Instead, it evolved from the bottom-up but did benefit greatly from synergies created by the impending World Cup. The fact that this project evolved under different institutional arrangements from mainstream legacy projects

² <http://www.coventry.ac.uk/research/research-directories/current-projects/2014/carnival/>

offers pointers for new approaches to legacy planning. The case study approach is justified as it provides a detailed analysis of a particular setting (Bryman, 2008) which enables complex phenomena to be explicated. We argue that this case is especially potent as it clearly demonstrates that certain aspects of good practice are transferable and could become part of legacy programmes more broadly.

During the course of research conducted during 2016 and 2017 we interviewed a range of stakeholders involved directly in the day to day delivery and management of the FFSA, as well as people from organisations who work with the FFSA in delivering sport and recreation services. In addition, we interviewed senior managers who had been involved in the planning and delivery of FIFA2010 in the Western Cape. Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face. In total, 38 interviews were conducted. These interviewees were purposefully sampled in order to ensure that we captured a range of perspectives upon the broader legacy of FIFA2010 as well as insights from those involved in the FFSA. Participants were invited via email and/or telephone to participate. An interview guide was developed focusing upon questions which captured respondent's views on the planning and implementation of the project, and the impact and the success of the project from a legacy perspective. Respondents included: FFSA staff, coaches and volunteers, teachers and principals from local schools, local and provincial government representatives and individuals involved with the Grootbos Foundation. We conducted research activities with 21 children who use the facility. These activities included producing word clouds and drawings which identified aspects of the facility that the children valued. Each child presented their work to the group explaining their choices. In addition, we drew upon a parallel research project being conducted by one of the authors into the governance legacies of FIFA2010 which involved interviews with independent, executive and operational directors, managers and the provincial government officials directly involved with planning FIFA2010 in the Western Cape. This component of the

research was instrumental in providing insights into the mechanisms driving legacy planning more broadly. In addition, activities and events undertaken at the sports facility were observed, such as a visit by the German men's field hockey squad in March 2016.

Interviews were conducted in English, Afrikaans or isiXhosa; Afrikaans and isiXhosa are widely spoken in Gansbaai, although most people can converse in English too. The interviews were digitally recorded with the interviewees' consent and transcribed accordingly. The interviewers were fluent in the first language of the respondents and the interviews conducted in Afrikaans and isiXhosa were translated into English. The data was analysed using the qualitative content analysis approach which included coding and identifying themes (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Ethical considerations were taken into account and the necessary approvals were received. Safeguarding procedures were enacted for research involving children, including parental consent forms and the attendance of local teachers during the activities.

Results

Lack of mainstream football legacy

The South African Football Association (SAFA) informant indicate that the occasion of the World Cup led to a re-focusing of strategic thinking on the longer term development of soccer in South Africa and increased impetus behind programmes such as coach training:

We've had some success. Last year and this year we've trained over 4,000 coaches in a year ... it's a hang of a lot more than we've done before. We've built and defined and developed a document for a national football philosophy. We've now developed the plan for the building of the talent pipeline, investment in the national technical centre (SAFA respondent, December 2016).

However, the legacy for soccer itself has been critiqued as a missed opportunity, with the achievements being dismissed as relatively marginal given the size of the opportunity available via an event of the magnitude of the World Cup. Politics within SAFA and between SAFA and other key stakeholders was perceived as a major structural problem preventing the sport from leveraging opportunities to flourish. The national team's ongoing lack of success and poor public engagement with domestic teams are seen as evidence of weaknesses within the development of the game within South Africa. As an informant within the Western Cape Provincial Government states:

SAFA is a missed opportunity there with the World Cup. They put down three (Football for Hope) pitches. But opportunity to pull the human infrastructure for this sport, they missed opportunity. I just think football itself did not leverage the opportunity to be able to grow this sport massively....I think a lot of that, let's just say the power struggle was inside the sport, kept them all the way back (Interview, November 2016).

In this sense FIFA2010 can be seen as a missed opportunity to engender meaningful forms of socio-cultural legacy. Instead planning and delivering sporting and transportation infrastructures, providing for tourists and developing the South Africa brand by the start of the World Cup were absolute priorities for the local organising committee. These deliverables, in terms of compliance, were the ones by which the organisers and FIFA would be judged by their core external stakeholders in contrast to leveraging the legacy outcomes. The pressures being confronted by local officials are summed up by a local government manager as follows:

We didn't have the luxury of long term planning. It's actually a very short space of time. The stadium had to be completed. There wasn't a deadline, there was a drop deadline, because you had kick off at a certain hour at a certain day. We

couldn't run over the time for any delay and, and that was the challenge. It was a clear, it was more clear, the goal line, or the, or the cut-off date, and that the deliverables had to be delivered (Interview, November 2016).

In broader terms many stakeholders believe that community-focused legacy was lacking due to an absence of vision from the leading strategists. The delivery mechanism for the World Cup was top-down and lacked engagement with community voices. There was no effective appraisal of community needs, nor an assessment of the contribution that community stakeholders could make to the process. As a result significant opportunities for development were missed. As a leading community non-governmental organisation (NGO) manager in the Western Cape states:

There is a lack of connected-ness in really knowing what it is that the communities need or want. And doing it more from a top down rather than a bottom up approach. It's the connected-ness to what is really, what is needed... The community has a lot to contribute, they've got a lot of strengths (Interview, November 2016).

Catalytic effect of FIFA2010 for developmental legacies

Whilst the formal planning structures for the delivery of FIFA2010 marginalised opportunities for generating impactful projects within communities, the event of the World Cup did have a catalytic effect in opening up spaces for grassroots actors to develop initiatives. The following section provides an analytical account of the FFSA, a project which formally opened in 2008 providing new sports facilities for the diverse communities of the Western Cape town of Gansbaai. The processes underpinning the initiation and ongoing development of the project are interesting as this highly successful project results from direct relationships being made between international stakeholders with interests in projects linked to the soccer World Cup and local stakeholders with an interest in attracting support for a local initiative. The resilience of the project, which has been running now for nearly a decade, indicates that there are important

lessons to be learned about the forms of institutional arrangements through which legacies can be generated via international scale events.

The origins and development of the FFSA

Gansbaai is a typical post-apartheid semi-rural town where poverty, unemployment and racial segregation are evident (Swart, Bob, Knott and Salie, 2011). A decade after the end of apartheid good quality recreational facilities were generally still only available for the more privileged members of the community. Soccer pitches, the first choice sport for the black³ population, were little more than a dustbowl. Local entrepreneur Michael Lutzeyer, owner of the multi-award winning Grootbos Eco-Lodge, was concerned by the lack of formal sports facilities available for the majority of people in the Gansbaai region and he conceived the idea of developing a multi-purpose sports facility within the town. The announcement that the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ would take place in South Africa provided the stimulus for his idea to gain traction. Lutzeyer's networking skills, positive reputation and business acumen were to prove crucial in drawing together a coalition of stakeholders to take the project forward. On the one hand he was able to gain local support from the Overstrand Municipality and the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, whilst contacts garnered via guests at the exclusive Grootbos Lodge enabled access to international funders, including Barclays/ABSA Bank (ABSA invested R4.6m) and the English Premier League (EPL). The impending World Cup was a significant factor in creating interest in, and support for, the project. For governmental bodies there was a strong attraction for developing a project with a focus on soccer, whilst for international corporates there was an opportunity to align their CSR programmes to a major international

³ During the apartheid-era people were classified according to their race – white, coloured, black and Indian. These classifications continue to be used in South African policy and daily life, although the terms are deeply contested (Erasmus 2001).

event. Thus, the sports facility in Gansbaai became the first Barclays ‘Spaces for Sport’⁴ project outside of the UK. Importantly, the corporate donors not only provided financial support but also invested human resources into the project with secondments of key individuals to provide advice in rolling out the project.

The process was facilitated by the availability of a large parcel of circa 50 hectares of municipality owned land within the town’s boundaries, which had previously been earmarked for the development of community facilities. Furthermore, this land was located between the town’s three main racially delineated communities. Thus, the Coloured community of Blompark (circa 5000 citizens) live to the east of the land, the Black township of Masakhane (circa 12000) is found to the north, whilst the town of Gansbaai (circa 8000) and its suburb of de Kelders are predominantly white. Such geographic patterns remain a highly visible legacy of the apartheid-era and its infamous Group Areas Act, which demarcated where people of different races were allowed to live. The location of the land was seen as a highly symbolic as it provided an opportunity to create a space for concurrent use by all racial groups, in contrast its pre-existing barren status had created a very real physical barrier between the communities. The project was delivered quickly due to the drive of the Overstrand’s Mayor and the quality of the project team assembled from amongst the project’s diverse stakeholders.

Crucially, initial work had been undertaken to consult with local communities and ensure their buy-in to the project. As stated by the Municipal Manager:

Yeah, and a lesson that one could learn is right through and right from the start, not even tried to proceed or start with construction, that kind of thing, because then

⁴ Since 2004 the Barclays ‘Spaces for Sport’ scheme has invested more than £40 million in projects which improve sports facilities and offer life skills programmes for disadvantaged young people.

you've got a lot of damage control to do. Start with the consultation, and if everybody's on the same page you can start. And that's really important (Interview, April 2016).

This was not a straightforward process given the 'cultural prejudices deeply engrained in the minds of many people', (Kat Myburgh in Terblanche 2012). More affluent constituents were concerned about the potential tax burden of maintaining a 'white elephant', some questioned the motivations underpinning 'a council vanity project', while others believed the project represented paternalism and forced integration. The FFSA's female project manager found the broader patriarchal institutional environment to be very challenging, whilst there was also resistance from established local sports clubs who felt threatened. An FFSA employee explains how these tensions played out:

We eventually started employing community coaches, also put them through training and then the project grew from there. We had income for the football, our coaches' gained traction but also not without problems, we had a lot of struggle with SAFA in the beginning and them boycotting the community coach that we employed because he wasn't originally from the community (Interview, March 2016).

After months of intense and difficult discussions sufficient understanding was reached for the project to proceed with broad community support. At a Provincial level questions were asked as to whether locating the facility in a relatively remote area was logical and suggested that instead it should be built in a more populous area to ensure greater access and participation. Gansbaai's proponents won the day, not least due to the persuasive commitment of local stakeholders who argued that the apartheid legacy necessitated the targeting of resources into more remote

disadvantaged areas. R1.5 million of funding was provided via Provincial government to prepare the land and lay down the necessary utility infrastructure.

The project developed quickly and the necessary physical works were completed in November 2007. The first 3G artificial soccer pitch in the Southern Hemisphere was unveiled at the official opening on 20th April 2008. The sports facility is run by a third sector body, the FFSA which is part of a larger Foundation linked to the Grootbos Lodge, viz. the Grootbos Foundation discussed further below (Grootbos Nature Reserve, 2013). The FFSA secured funding for the project through a variety of sources including ongoing annual grants of £40,000 from the EPL linked to FFSA's assistance in delivering the EPL's Premier Skills programme. The Municipality maintains the grounds and buildings at their own expense (circa R300,000 per annum), which is critical for ensuring the financial viability of the project. The physical space is managed by a Council official, who oversees groundwork and maintenance. A further benefit of the project is that regional and provincial events are hosted in Gansbaai at no cost to the organisers.

The range of activities offered has evolved rapidly over the years, with new opportunities being identified and actioned. The facility currently comprises a full-size artificial football pitch, two rugby fields, a grass soccer pitch, hockey pitch, cricket pitch and cricket nets (paid for by Indian cricketer Yuvraj Singh), an athletics track, dual purpose netball and tennis courts and a clubhouse complete with kitchen and shower facilities. Other sports offered include swimming and canoeing which is undertaken off-site. As well as regular term time activities the facility offers programmes and events during the school holidays and on national public holidays, such as Human Rights Day. Sporting opportunities are primarily targeted at local children, although some adult clubs also make use of the facility. Local schools are able to use the facility as their main sports grounds without charge. Indeed, a new secondary school, the Gansbaai Academie,

was built next to the facility in 2010 and thus has very easy access. However, the Laerskool Gansbaai in the centre of town, which is predominantly attended by white children, possesses very good facilities of its own and thus makes little use of the FFSA's facility. This dissonance is elaborated further when discussing the impacts of the FFSA.

The FFSA offers sports programmes and also broader educational enrichment activities benefiting from linkage with the Grootbos Foundation, which offers a range of environmental and skills development programmes for local people (Grootbos Foundation 2014). Education programmes include the Dibanisa Environmental Education Programme, Green Box Vegetable Garden Programme, Grassroot Soccer's HIV/AIDS curriculum, Girls Empowerment, Coaching Skills Development and Tourism Guide Training. The facility is staffed by a small team of qualified coaches and a cohort of international interns/volunteers. The coaching team also travel to other locations to ensure that children in more inaccessible places such as farm schools, gain access to their knowledge and skills. A satellite version of the project is also run by the FFSA in the Imizamo Yethu township in Hout Bay near Cape Town. Lutzeyer has continued to be heavily involved and used his networking skills to bring in further resources. For example, a chance meeting with a German club hockey player on a long-haul flight led to the initiation of field hockey backed by sponsorship from German clubs. Indeed, the German international men's team visited the centre in March 2016.

Impacts of the FFSA

It is clear that the FFSA is achieving considerable and increasing reach into local, especially disadvantaged, communities and the impact has grown steadily over the years. As illustrated in Table 1 below, 7875 children participated in activities run by the FFSA in the 12 months to 31st March 2017. In comparison, total participation was 5000 in 2010, the growth in the intervening years being driven by an increase in the range of activities and locations incorporated within the

FFSA's delivery strategy. For example, swimming and canoeing were added in 2016. Participation is widespread in terms of gender, race and age: in 2016/17 61% of participants were male; 51% black, 41.5% coloured, 8.5% white (in terms of historical racial classification); and just over half of all participants were aged between 11 and 16 years.

Insert Table 1 here

Athletics is the most popular activity, representing more than a third of all participants, just over one half of whom are female. Athletics and hockey are enjoyed by representative numbers of all children from all racial groups. Soccer is disproportionately represented by black boys, although 15% of participants are female, which may be considered an achievement in terms of broadening participation in a male dominated sport. Hockey's success in attracting boys and girls of all races is attributed to the fact that the game does not have the same level of pre-existing cultural embeddedness as sports such as soccer, rugby and cricket. Therefore, hockey participation has not been restrained by pre-conceptions as to who should be playing it. It is interesting to note that engagement with specialist events and even holiday activities tend to be more of a black male domain (less than 10% of attendees at special events, such as Mandela Day, are girls). Interviews with FFSA informants suggest that these differences relate to the greater need for child care amongst the black community and that girls are more likely to be assigned domestic duties on holidays and weekends. One of the FFSA Managers explains the challenges of ensuring that girls are involved:

It is trying to keep the female participation because as you know, once they get to a certain age they don't want to play sport anymore, so it's again trying to just keep the girls involved, keep them active...it's just also building that relationship with the girls, so the girls know that they're supported as well because obviously around

the culture and differences, they're supposed to go home and clean, look after, take over the role from the mum (Interview, March 2016).

The FFSA has made immense strides in terms of achieving engagement with large numbers of young people, via different forms of sporting and enrichment activities in geographically dispersed locations. But what of the impacts that this participation engenders? To what extent are impacts being achieved in terms of improving the well-being of individuals, families and the broader community? Many children are benefitting from membership of sports teams run by the Foundation, which in turn enables them to travel to new places to participate in matches and events. These opportunities are cherished by the children according to the coaches and volunteers, who referred to the speed with which children would return the parental consent forms required for such trips. A handful of individuals have demonstrated elite potential and are participating at Provincial level and some have been offered scholarships enabling them to study at prestigious schools. Others have progressed from being participants to becoming qualified coaches within the programme (Van Aswegen, 2014). These are opportunities that would not have occurred without the work of the FFSA. Our research indicates that the opportunities offered by the facility are appreciated by a wide range of stakeholders and that the perceived benefits stretch beyond simple involvement with playing sport.

Children expressed very strong positive feelings about the sports facility and the contribution it makes to their lives. Interestingly, notions of enjoyment and fun were less explicitly expressed than the development of qualities such as respect, kindness, discipline and loyalty. References to greater ambitions and potential achievements were also less frequently recorded. The realities of community life for the majority of the children are brought home by the frequent references made to the encouragement of better lifestyles and the avoidance of bad habits such as drugs and alcohol. Indeed, the volunteer coaches explained how they had initially been surprised by

the need to focus upon life skills ahead of sport performance development during their sessions with the children. The notion that the sports facility is a ‘safe place’ was a recurring theme within the research as illustrated in these quotes. This is an important finding which resonates with community development literatures, which describe the need for places where young people are not only physically safe but can also experience emotional and psychological safety (Spaaij and Schulenkorf, 2014).

Insert Box 1 here

Representatives from the local schools spoke strongly of the benefits that the sports facility brings to the community and daily life of the school. These benefits extend beyond the simple provision of sporting activities into the deeper impacts upon the children’s self-esteem, character and ambition. As one senior educationalist states:

What I can tell you is that the life skills program like the woman empowerment and the integration program - that it builds character in our children, they are more focused on their school work, they are more respectful and that goes automatically over to their school work (Interview, March 2016).

Many respondents commented that the facility has played an important role in breaking down the racially-defined barriers which have proven so entrenched after the formal ending of apartheid. A leading figure in the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, coincidentally a veteran of the anti-apartheid movement, comments: ‘I also think we mustn’t underestimate the cohesiveness of healing in that community’ (Interview, March 2016).

Factors attributed to this ‘healing’, include the process of inclusive participation during the project’s initiation, the fact that the sports facility acts as a meeting point within the town’s geography, whereas previously the area of disused land was seen as a barrier which reinforced

the separateness of communities. Now people gather at the facility and use its central pathway as a route into town. The sports activities provide opportunities for people of different colours to mix and interact in ways that they would have not done previously.

However, there is some dissonance with respect to the extent of integration and cross-cultural understanding that is occurring. Critics, correctly, point out that the extent of white and, in some sports coloured, participation is not as high as might be hoped. This is indicative of the pre-existence of good quality facilities for higher income families in the area. Thus, children who may be part of the same team in district or provincial events will be practising separately within their local town. As one parent observes,

Yet they (*children of different races playing in the same team*) have never practiced together on a field in their own town. The coloured and Xhosa kids practice together at the sports facility and the white kids practice on the field in town. Apartheid hasn't left Gansbaai – Apartheid are promoted in Gansbaai - the community of Blompark is not healed yet from Apartheid (Interview, April 2016).

Long established divisions and suspicions persist, with parents from Masakane commenting that the municipality continues to favour citizens from the (white) town and Blompark and that the resources invested in the sports facility could instead have been spent on housing. In the past Masakane residents did not feel welcome on the land where the sports facility now sits, due to it bordering upon Blompark. Overcoming such perceived barriers continues to present a problem as one parent explains: 'The adults of Masakane are not aware that the "gate is now open" for all of us.' (Interview, April 2017)

Despite the heavy emphasis upon integration and respect within the *modus operandi* of the FFSA there is still considerable evidence that racist and sexist attitudes persist amongst the children. Indeed, the volunteers expressed shock at the extent of overt sexism that they observed,

for example, boys routinely pushing in front of girls in dinner queues. The volunteers report unease at challenging this behaviour as they were aware that these attitudes result from behaviours demonstrated within the children's homes and that more respectful behaviour by boys in a domestic setting could place them in a position of conflict, as might more assertive behaviour from girls. It was very noticeable during our research activities how boys and girls grouped themselves separately with the girls retreating into a corner and initially being reticent to interact. Other shortcomings in the delivery of the project, which are also rooted within local cultural practices, include a lack of parental engagement and low levels of participation by disabled children.

Evaluating the success of the FFSA

It is evident that the FFSA project has not just avoided white elephant status but has prospered. At one level, success can be judged by the fact that the numbers of participants have grown steadily, an increasing range of activities are on offer and the geographic reach of the FFSA continues to spread. These success indicators are underpinned by the fact that the project has proven to be financially sustainable with ongoing backing via a range of funding streams. The responses of the participants within our research are indicative of the benefits that are felt within their lives. For many the existence of a nurturing safe haven is clearly very important, whilst for a few there are unheralded opportunities to develop their talents. On its own the Foundation's work cannot transform an array of deeply seated socio-economic disparities but it appears to be more than holding its own in terms of demonstrating that greater inclusive futures are possible. In this sense the project represents an excellent example of the ways that sport and associated enrichment programmes can contribute to wider transformation and development trajectories.

Several factors have enabled the FFSA to be successful. The most critical drivers of success relate to the strong institutional context within which the project is embedded involving local,

regional, national and global organisations. Strong management, good governance and effective networking have enabled local stakeholders to reach outwards to wider influential networks. Effective governance in this instance can be understood to incorporate transparency, accountability and responsibility with regard to financial accounting (Dimitropoulos, 2011), fund allocation, (Mason et al., 2006), decision making processes (Enjolras and Waldahl, 2010) and in dealing with stakeholders (Shilbury et al., 2016). Critically, the two leading local organisations, the Grootbos Foundation and the Overstrand Municipality, have a close working relationship and each is well respected for their standards of accountability and governance. For example, Overstrand was ranked first in South Africa in the Municipal IQ 2013/14 assessment of municipality performance and governance, whilst the Grootbos Foundation ensures that its accounts are externally scrutinised before being signed off by an internationally respected management consultancy firm (Overstrand District Municipality, 2014). Donors have been willing to support the project due to the demonstrably strong and transparent track record of the FFSA and the Grootbos Foundation. Michael Lutzeyer's ability to secure support from a wide range of influential individuals and organisations has been critical for ensuring that funding has continued to be available to support the Foundation's activities. Local legitimacy has also been vitally important, thus FFSA and Grootbos ensure that close relationships are maintained with local stakeholders. The project therefore clearly demonstrates two of the core qualities that proponents of sport for development advocate as underscored by Levermore (2010, p. 238) '...the ability of sport to reach out to communities that are particularly marginalised by traditional development initiatives and its capacity to create partnerships among institutions that would not normally work together.'

The success of the FFSA is a clear illustration that community-based programmes catalysed by mega-events can make important developmental contributions (Darnell 2012). One of the most notable features of the FFSA project has been the way that local stakeholders have successfully

connected with international corporations and have drawn down upon the latter's financial and human resources. Equally, engagement with the project has enabled those corporations to meet their own strategic targets, whether in the realms of reinforcing their license to operate within their markets or meeting CSR targets (Jones, Pollitt and Bek, 2007). The end result has been a sustainable and resilient project which has not been caught up within red tape or subjected to political capture. Whilst many aspects of the project's success can be argued to be spatially and temporally specific there are core elements of good practice which could be applied within the planning and execution of mega-events. The latter create unique opportunities for local stakeholders to engage with major corporations via CSR, marketing and sponsorship programmes. For corporations mega-events such as the Olympics and the soccer World Cup offer huge potential for positive exposure across the globe and significant budgets are made available to exploit this, usually via CSR programmes. The FFSA project demonstrates the benefits that can result when there is a close working relationship between corporate organisations, in this case Barclays Bank, the EPL and local stakeholders. There have been positive dividends for all stakeholders and it can convincingly be argued that the depth and range of developmental benefits has been substantially greater than occurs with mainstream corporate supported projects.

FIFA2010 benefitted from unprecedented levels of sponsorship: six corporations paid between \$24 and \$44 billion per annum for Partner status, eight signed Sponsor packages for \$8 to \$25 billion and six firms paid \$4.5 to \$7.5 for National Supporter status (IEG, 2010). In total \$1.6 billion was raised by June 2010. Therefore, a range of major corporations were focusing attention upon South Africa at this time. A great deal more could have been achieved had further efforts been made to engage with these firms in the realms of community development. The fact that this did not, by and large, occur highlights one of the inherent tensions within CSR practices, namely that activities labelled as community investment are more likely to be a superficial

marketing related practice than a concerted effort to harness corporate resources to support sustainable community engagement (Bason and Anagnostopoulos, 2015; Levermore and Moore, 2015).

Conclusion

An assessment of the FFSA published in 2011 (Swart et al.) praised the inception phase of the project but warned that ultimately the project could only be judged a success if it consolidated and avoided becoming ‘a white elephant’. Six years later it is clear that the project has not merely avoided being a white elephant but has become a core component of the socio-cultural fabric of the Overberg. Furthermore, the FFSA’s achievements are significant as they challenge the climate of pessimism that pervades much community development work in South Africa. The FFSA is confronted by many external and internal challenges as it moves forward, not least the imperative to maintain funding streams on the one hand and the need to tackle complex issues such as seemingly engrained discriminatory attitudes amongst the project’s participants on the other. The increasingly fraught political tensions, which have a distinctly racial dimension, within South Africa as a whole add to the challenges. Yet, these also reinforce the critical importance of initiatives such as the FFSA, which seek to bring people together and offer transformative opportunities for the nation’s youth.

More broadly we contend that the success of the FFSA draws attention to gaps in legacy planning for mega-events. The idea that mega-events will automatically trigger a raft of positive long term outcomes has tended to be exaggerated in pre-event projections to the extent that many analysts dismiss these as little more than ‘fairy tales’ (Brittain et al., 2018). As indicated in our research, local organising bodies are ultimately driven by the need to ensure that the event itself will operate smoothly, thus more peripheral objectives tend to be passed by. However, large events offer unique opportunities for hosts to draw down upon the international gaze that

is upon them and in particular to harness the sponsorship and CSR budgets of major corporates. As the FFSA demonstrates very clearly, it is possible for local stakeholders to work directly with international organisations to deliver sustainable, successful programmes. The FFSA was generated through partnership working beyond the institutional structures of the organising bodies, however, it should be possible for bodies such as FIFA and the IOC to develop formal mechanisms for drawing their stakeholders together with community-based groups to identify and deliver developmental programmes. Corporations can also play an important role by prioritising best practice forms of engagement via their CSR programmes rather than implementing quick and easy projects which offer immediate publicity but deliver little long term value (Jones et al., 2007).

While this study provides empirical evidence for developmental legacies associated with the hosting of FIFA 2010, it is limited to a specific case of the FFSA. Additionally, while a broad range of stakeholders were interviewed, a key stakeholder group ie. parents were not given sufficient voice due to time and resource constraints. A follow-up study could therefore focus on the views of parents.

Implications and recommendations

This study makes a contribution to understanding the processes of legacy production in the case of the FFSA and provides evidence for a bottom-up approach in planning for and delivering legacies from a sport mega-event. Future research should look more closely at the developmental impacts of legacy, especially related to CSR elements. As this case study evolved under different institutional arrangements from mainstream legacy projects it is recommended that other similar type of projects be identified and researched in similar and different contexts (developed and developing). Such work will help to illuminate the types of new approaches to legacy planning that are required in the delivery of future mega-events.

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Table 1: Participation in FFSA activities between April 2016 and March 2017

	Male	Female	Black	White	Coloured	Total
Soccer	532	91	567	13	43	623
Hockey	182	130	158	48	106	312
Athletics	1327	1346	1078	502	1093	2673
Rugby	19	33	5	9	38	52
Netball	2	72	12	0	62	74
Canoeing	30	1	12	5	14	31
Swimming	73	44	115	1	1	117
Specialized events	808	83	722	69	100	891
Holidays	938	528	914	10	542	1466
Programmes	222	253	223	7	245	475
Outreach schools	660	501	193	18	950	1161
Total	4793	3082	3999	682	3194	7875

Box 1: Indicative quotes from children (11-15 years) concerning the role of the FFSA in their lives

'We stay off bad things from the community like drugs crime, alcohol etc'.

'We like to have fun with Football Foundation coaches and children and so we cannot smoke drugs and drink alcohol'.

What FFSA teach us? Respect, responsibilities, discipline, loyalty'.

'We want to play trials so we can explore new things'

'The coaches teach us respect so we can respect our parents, teachers and each other'.

'We want to be something in life'.

'In encourages us to stay away from bad things like drugs, alcohol and it intergrates (*sic*) with different cultures and teaches us about HIV/AIDS and well-being of being a person and it encourage us to sports and gives us knowledge'.